1: Nimuendaju 5-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

there are wooden forks with from two to five tines for drawing parallel lines. Further, there are four distinct types of stamps: (1) For dots. For dotted lines the forks or similar implements are used; dots forming stars, rectangles, etc., are stamped with the ends of appropriately carved rods. (2) Round stamps, mainly for star-shaped designs, generally consist of halved palm (especially babassu) nuts and are most commonly used. An ingenious woman utilized her husband's ear disks, which had a Maltese cross in openwork. (3) Stamps for stripes. These usually consist of a plano-convex piece of burity leafstalk, the level surface being carved with the designs, while the convex side has two excised parts opposite each other which aid the fingers in manipulating the implement. Other stamps of this category are of hardwood and of rectangular section, with a different pattern on each side. Sometimes a grip projects in the direction of the axis on each narrow face of such four-plane stamps. (4) Roller stamps, of cylindrical form with spindle. They may quite possibly be aboriginal, for the racing logs called pę'rakahę't exhibit the same form.

[881] Notwithstanding the extensive development of body paint, the ornamentation marks social units only in a few cases. Thus, each of the plaza groups paints those of its members graduating from the second phase of initiation with a special pattern at the terminal celebration; and the rainy season moieties are recognizable by their paint. On the other hand, the exogamous moieties, the age classes, and the festive organizations lack distinctive paint, except for the leader and the girl associates of the Jaguar society.

Gluing of down and paty wool.—Falcon down is glued on the body exclusively for ceremonial decoration (pl. 7, *c*), being obligatory at a number of solemn procedures, whereas no one ever has himself decorated with feathers for his personal pleasure. At the close of the ketúaye and the pepkahę'k seclusion all participants are ornamented with falcon down. At other terminal solemnities and outstanding ceremonies it is as a rule the officiating members of the hąmrén who are thus distinguished. Above all, the tamhę'k at their great ceremony during the pepkahę't festival all appear with the falcon-down decoration reserved for their use. Further, at the end of the mourning period for a deceased or absent tribesman, or after prolonged and serious illness, the hąmrén present themselves in their down ornamentation before the councilors in the plaza; the corpse of the hąmrén is similarly honored. Whenever the hąmrén are thus decorated, each cheek bears two small black triangles in close juxtaposition, the pigment being derived from almecega rosin and pulverized charcoal.

The ketúaye initiation and the pepkahę'k festival require the simultaneous decoration of some thirty persons with falcon down, hence special hunting trips have to be arranged in order to obtain the necessary quantity. The Indians then set the steppe afire, the smoke enticing the falcons, whose down is subsequently stowed away in small, narrow-mouthed gourd vessels, from which it is extricated with a little rod.

I know of but a single instance of parrot down as a substitute for that of a falcon. Oddly enough, this happened in the case of a little boy impersonating a young falcon.

The down is glued on by a hąpín (p. 102), invariably in the wearer's maternal house, to the chanting of the operator, who receives a present for his labor. The solitary exception occurs at ketúaye, the novices being decorated by members of their plaza unit (menkąčą). Before the operation the subject's hair is always trimmed.

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1938) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

and rice. An Indian who takes no precautions against these birds is sure to lose his entire yield, irrespective of the amount planted. The only antidote is to have a guardian stationed in the plots throughout the daytime during the season so that he may at once repel the intruders. This is achieved by shouts or a variety of missiles—stones, palm nuts, and clay balls hurled with the hand, with slings (hũkaipẽ'rẽa), or with a pellet bow.

Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra and Krahõ' I have seen boys setting snares for parrots. To a hoop about 20 cm. in diameter and spanned by a network of cords they attach a dozen nooses of tucum fiber (Rąmkõ'kamekra) or, among the Krahõ', of horsehair. After placing some rice ears or similar lures below these snares, they tie the hoop in horizontal position to a wooden fork, which in turn is fastened to the top of as long a bamboo pole as possible. The entire contraption, which is visible from a considerable distance, is erected in the plantation, and as soon as the parrots pounce upon the rice ears their feet are caught in the nooses (pl. 17, *a*, *b*).

White neighbors are wont to mock at Rąmkõ'kamekra farmers, alleging that they raise nothing or at least nothing worth while and that they subsist by theft and begging. Few take the trouble even to look at the Indian plantations. Yet toward the close of 1930 these scoffers were obliged willy-nilly to acknowledge publicly that the Indians had planted considerable crops. At that time part of

Fig. 5. Digging stick. 1/10 nat. size.

Maranhão suffered from a famine, for the manioc crop had failed over a wide area so that the generally indispensable flour made from this plant was lacking. In Barra do Corda the scarcity forced the local officials to ration the sale of what little was to be had. At the peak of this plight the Rąmkõ'kamekra suddenly appeared with several horseloads of manioc flour and saved the townsmen since by an odd chance they alone had saved their yield. In the meantime, not only the half-starved Guajajára from beyond the Rio Corda had billeted themselves on the residents of Ponto, but even the Neobrazilians came to offer the Rąmkõ'kamekra their labor in return for manioc. When I reached Barra do Corda in 1931 and inquired in a shop whether good flour was to be had, the owner answered, "Very good flour, indeed; it's from the aldea Ponto!" Yet in this town many "whites" had declared categorically that they would never eat anything prepared by "these nauseating beasts" (*esses bichos nojentos*). Many Indians are deterred from ampler production of manioc flour for sale only by the lack of means of transport, for hauling a flour sack on one's back over a distance of seventy-eight kilometers is something of a hardship even for a Timbira educated as a log racer.

Rąmkõ'kamekra economic life was most significantly affected during the last twenty years by the Indians' turning to intensive preparation of manioc flour and to rice cultivation. At present these originally alien articles of food are about to gain ascendancy both in the kitchen and, next to basketwork, in trade. Agriculturally the Rąmkõ'kamekra have advanced farther since their contact with civilization than the Guajajára, whose aboriginal farming was anciently far more intensive, but whose productivity has since rather diminished than grown.

Even today the Indians in part use their aboriginal planting stick, which is invariably of very hard wood, either pau roxo or pau eandeia, 75–100 cm. in length, round and flattened spade-fashion at the butt (fig. 5). Sometimes this flattened

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killed, but sought only for lack of all other game. Because of its reputed destruction of snakes the people like to keep it tame in the village. Though I have never observed these birds at this, a tame specimen once gave me a demonstration of its procedure when mistaking my leather belt, which had accidentally dropped, for a snake. Furiously pouncing on the strap, the sariema[1] seized the buckle with its bill, swung it in the air, and lashed it two or three times against the ground in a manner that would inevitably have cracked a snake's spine. Only then did the attacker recognize its error and let the belt alone. Falcons are killed in large numbers when the steppe grass is burnt in June and these birds immediately foregather in order to hunt the startled grasshoppers, lizards, and other small species. Falcons are sought both for their flesh and their downy feathers, which play a great part in Eastern Timbira ceremonial.

Snakes are killed with any handy stick, except that a sucurijú, which has the thickness of a human thigh, requires a sizable club.

Game of agouti size, or larger, is carried home in a palm-leaf basket plaited *ad hoc*. First the hunter plaits the back of the container, deposits the animal on it, and then interlaces the leaflets over it. The tip of a monkey's tail is pulled through its lower jaw and the game is then hung over's one shoulder. A man will tie together a deer's feet, put his head through the ring thus formed, and carry his kill home on his back.

The Rąmkõ'kamekra, too, as noted by Snethlage,[88] drags large game no farther than the village boundary, whence his wife carries it home.

In general the Timbira are still skillful at hunting, exhibiting marked ability to interpret footprints and great perseverance in pursuing wounded animals. A good hunter is prized all the more nowadays because lack of game renders the chase progressively less productive. He is a much coveted husband: I once overheard a Rąmkõ'kamekra reproving his infatuated niece as follows, "You want to marry *him*! What sort of game has *he* ever shot?"

Collective hunting accompanies the festivals, especially the period preceding the terminal celebration, which always requires a large quantity of meat pies. Since this closing ceremony is determined by the council when the duration of the festival is deemed sufficient, this decision likewise involves the signal for collective hunting. This devolves exclusively on the festive societies and age classes that participated in the festival. Each group is accompanied by the two associated girl auxiliaries, who are sometimes joined by several female age mates, especially of the "wanton" class. At least one man of more mature age invariably goes along in order to advise the younger people and to see to the preservation of ceremonial rules. He has the prerogative of eating the brains of animals killed, this diet being tabooed to the young people. The oldest woman of the society—contrary to Snethlage's observation—does not dream of permitting herself to be loaded down with kitchen utensils to be brought to the hunters' assembly. Old women calmly wait in the village for whatever food their sons or sons-in-law are morally obliged to bring them. I am further puzzled by the function of the cords and ropes (both of tucum fiber) with which, according to the same investigator, every hunter provides himself.

In the collective hunting trips, too, the tamhą'k (p. 98) play a part, attempting to increase the yield of the undertaking by first performing certain actions. Indeed, they even tried to improve the quality of the slain game by their magical influence. If animals were to be surrounded with the aid of firing, a tamhą'k had to be the first to light the fire. He and his fellows, however, did not take part in the ensuing drive.

[88] Meine Reise, 465.

1 [i.e. the sariema - - - Analyst]